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squarely with the dictum of his friend Mr. H. G. Wells, to whom he dedicates his book, that the only race problem is that created "by the almost insane arrogance and inhumanity of the Southern white man," and with the more mildly stated opinion of Professor Royce (pp. 197-8). He thinks that Sir Sydney Oliver sadly misses the mark in failing to recognize the fundamental differences between Jamaican and Southern conditions.

Mr. Archer is not an optimist in this volume. He finds it impossible to accept Mr. Washington's basis of compromise—the coöperation of the two races in all industrial affairs, and the absolute separation in all things social. The four solutions which he considers are, the final extinction of the negro, the Washington compromise, amalgamation, and segregation. He dismisses the first three, and leans decidedly to the last—to be accomplished through the creation of a negro state, on an equal footing with the other states of the Union. Those familiar with race problem discussions during the past fifteen or twenty years will at once recognize in Mr. Archer's proposition a plan which for a long time was persistently advocated by John Temple Graves. It would be idle to criticise it here. If we must include solutions in our discussions of an unsolvable problem, this one answers the purpose quite as well as another.

Altogether, Mr. Archer has given us a readable and suggestive volume, free from cant, free from any holier-than-thou spirit, in all things honest, candid and fair.

*The Southern South.* By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. (New York and London: D. Appleton & Co. 1910. Pp. 444.)

He must be a capitious and querulous reader indeed, especially if a Southern man, who can traverse the pages of Professor Hart's book and maintain a spirit of hostile criticism. If he will bring to its perusal the same judicial frame of mind, the same honesty and candor, which characterize its writing, he will find but little just ground for fault-finding or complaint. And this testimony is the more gladly given because this reviewer has not hitherto found in Professor Hart's various criticisms of Southern life and conditions the same degree of appreciation of the difficulties which beset the Southern situation, the same comprehension of those conditions, the same kindly and sympathetic tone, which mark the present volume and serve to give it place in the first rank of writings critical and descriptive of the Southern states and people.

In his introduction the author says: "If this book make any contribution toward the knowledge and appreciation of Southern conditions, it must be by observing throughout two principles. The first is that no statement of fact be made without a basis in printed material, written memoranda, or personal memory or the testimony of people believed to speak the truth. The second is that in the discussion there be no animus against the South as a section or a people. . . . The aim of the work is not to cavil but to describe, with full realization that many of the things upon which comment is passed are criticized in the South, and have a counterpart in the North." There could be no fairer basis of investigation than this, and Professor Hart has succeeded excellently well in "living up to his principles." This need not mean that the book contains no statements or expressions which are open to adverse criticism, or none which jar a Southern reader's feelings. It would be either all mush and milk or a superhuman performance, if this could be said of it. It does mean that the tone of the volume is distinctly friendly and fair, its statements of fact in the main carefully made, and even its adverse criticisms thoroughly honest and kindly.

By Southern South is meant more particularly the cotton states, from South Carolina to Texas, with less attention to Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee, and with the border states of Maryland, West Virginia and Missouri excluded. The author does not find the so-called "poor white" as a class the abject creature which tradition has made him (pp. 38 and 42). He discriminatingly recognizes the existence of the Southern white farmer, who did not think it a disgrace in ante bellum times to work his own land with his own hands, and who was not and is not thought to be degraded thereby, by his more prosperous neighbors (pp. 60-61). He does not, however, fully appreciate the part which this class of farmers is now playing in the production of cotton—as his opinion seems to be that more than half of that crop is still grown by negro labor. In a chapter on Southern Leadership he remarks upon the real democracy of Southern society, and finds it more homogeneous and more gracious than that of the North. He notes also the existence of an easier relation between all members of the white race than is found in his own section (p. 62). In a discussion of Southern Temperament he speaks for a better understanding between the sections, and declares the North to be "weary of the negro question" and "less inclined than at any time during forty years to any active interference in Southern relations" (pp. 74 and 75). He finds an encouraging sign in the present "willingness of the South to discuss its problems on its own ground, and

to admit that there can be a variety of opinions and to meet rather than defy the criticisms of observers" (p. 78).

Eight chapters are devoted almost entirely to the negro, under the captions *Negro Character*, *Negro Life*, *The Negro at Work*, *Is the Negro Rising?* *Race Association*, *Race Separation*, *Crime and its Penalties*, and—*Lynching*. Some of the conclusions expressed in the hundred and twenty-odd pages embraced in these chapters are as follows: The migration of negroes to Northern states has not improved the conditions of those states; Northern negroes encounter many hardships; separate schools have been provided in some places in the North and are likely to increase; Northern negroes find many avenues of employment closed to them; few people like them as neighbors (pp. 99-100). "Race measured by race, the negro is inferior, and his past history in Africa and in America leads to the belief that he will remain inferior in race stamina and race achievement" (p. 105). "The numbers of the negroes are not in themselves alarming," and "hostility to the negro is not based on his numbers, but on the supposed inferiority of character" (pp. 113-114). "Domestic service is the most exasperating point of contact between the races," and "the great weight of testimony is that the colored man works tolerably well on the land" (pp. 124 and 127). The general conclusion of the author seems to be that economically the negro is rising, but is without the white man's spirit of acquisitiveness or his "willingness to sacrifice present delight for future good" (p. 148). The belief of the South that a mixture of the races now or hereafter would be calamitous "rests upon the conviction that the negro race, on the average, is below the white race; that it can never be expected to contribute anything like its proportion of the strength of the community; and hence to fuse the races means slight or no elevation for the negro, and a great decline for the white race. With that belief the writer coincides" (p. 158). "The whites are a unit on the two premises, that amalgamation must be resisted, and that the negro must not have political power" (p. 177). "The South thinks about the negro too much, talks about him too much, abuses him too much" (p. 178). "The white South is in control of the courts and of the administration of the law, and hence is responsible for certain reprehensible criminal practices and tendencies and for the disproportionate amount of crime in the South" (chap. xiv and xv).

These bare statements and detached quotations, submitted here without comment, are believed to present fairly the trend of the author's views, as set forth with considerable and painstaking detail. A few words seem in order touching his opinions on the Southern attitude

towards "social equality." Professor Hart does not attempt an analysis of this attitude, but contents himself with such observations as "the Southern mind somehow cannot distinguish between sitting at the same table with a man and making him your children's guardian" (p. 163). He calls the whole thing a mystery which "the Northern mind cannot penetrate" (p. 162). The use of the terms Northern mind and Southern mind in this connection are generalizations, of which in the main this volume is happily free. "The Southern mind" may balk at "social equality," but there are a hundred and one Southern ideas and definitions of the thing itself, and scores of varying points at which the line is drawn. It is hardly accurate to say the "the phrase social equality really means that if anything is done to raise the negro race it will demand to be raised all the way." "If the Southern mind" were to accept this as a fact it would likely mean short shrift of negro schools and of every other agency of racial uplift. Nor in truth is there really a "Northern mind" on the subject. This writer has listened to no more varied, no more pronounced, no more radical views on social equality anywhere than he has heard in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Providence, and a number of other eastern and western places.

Is not the real difficulty the fact that "social equality" everywhere is so intangible as to defy definition—so characterized by inextricable confusion of ideas and practices as to be impossible of reduction to logical terms? Like a great many other aspects of race relations, it is one more of feeling than of reasoned attitude. It sometimes happens that it is much easier for one who is guided by his instincts to get an insight into such matters than it is for one whose mental processes are those of the trained investigator of concrete facts. For example, Mr. Archer's book of course does not compare with Professor Hart's in the amount of study and preparation given to the subject. But Mr. Archer may easily get at the core of some things in the Southern racial situation which would be utterly incomprehensible to any man who depended solely upon his reasoning faculties for guiding him to the truth. Mr. Archer says, and I give his own italics: "What I *think* about the colour question must be superficial and may be foolish but there is a certain evidential value in what I *feel*. The whole question, ultimately is one of feeling: and the instinctive sensations of an observer, with the prejudices of his race, no doubt, but with no local Southern prejudices, are, so far as they go, worth taking into account" (*Through Afro-America*, p. 70). And here Mr. Archer uttered a fundamental truth. The keen insight into human nature which was an endowment of the gentle author of

*The Essays of Elia* enabled him to comprehend such things quite clearly. It was he who wrote, in a little essay on "Imperfect Sympathies," which should be absorbed by every would-be student of racial problems: "In the negro countenance you will often meet with strong traits of benignity. I have felt yearnings of sympathy towards some of these faces—or rather masks—that have looked out kindly upon one in casual encounters in the streets and highways. I love what Fuller beautifully calls 'these images of God cut in ebony.' But I should not like to associate with them, to share my meals and my good-nights with them—because they are black."

Professor Hart has two chapters under the titles Actual Wealth and Comparative Wealth, which appear to be mainly somewhat elaborate statistical arguments to establish the fact that the South is poorer than any other portion of the country of equal area. As replies to the harmless bombast of a certain class of Southern editors and "orators," they do well enough. But *cui bono*? The South has always been poorer than the North—at least within the memory of any man now living. And it is likely to so continue for an indefinite period of time. As to the reasons for this—that is another question, and one not answered in this volume and not attempted in this review.

Some interesting chapters on cotton, peonage and education bring us to one in which Southern problems are summarized and certain postulates stated. The problem, as the author sees it, seems to be that of maintaining peace and good will between two races, one of which is to dominate the relations and government of both, while the other is to accept what is given it. "To these conditions," he says, "discouraging, hard, implacable to innocent people, out of accord with the usual American principles, any effective remedy must nevertheless adjust itself" (p. 340). This acceptance of the inevitable on the part of one as genuinely interested in the welfare of the negro as is Professor Hart, is in itself a hopeful promise of future sectional accord in the matter of dealing with the negro and his problems. Had it been as clearly recognized forty years ago that any policy, national or state, which did not meet the sanction of at least a large section of Southern white people, was doomed to hopeless failure—conditions would today doubtless be better than they are. The "remedies" of deportation, terrorization, of gradual displacement, and of segregation, are disposed of as impossible. And in the following sentence the author places himself squarely against any form of federal intervention: "The writer is one of those who believe that any general federal legislation would revive friction between the

sections, would sharpen the race feeling in the South, and in the end would accomplish little for the negro; even federal aid to education could hardly be so managed as to keep up the feeling of white responsibility from which alone proper education of the negro can be expected" (p. 348). Truly this is progress—from the New England language and attitude of force-bill days.

Professor Hart, in conclusion, frankly admits that while both races are doing fairly well, "race relations are not improving" (p. 389). He urges education and patience. The suggestion is safe, and eminently sane. Education let us have, by all means—for both black and white, and to the utmost limit of each individual capacity to receive it, regardless of race or color. And we may all with profit pray for patience. But as to the efficacy of even these remedies, there comes the insistent query, what of race relations and negro conditions elsewhere? What has education done, and what is it doing, to improve the relations between whites and negroes, even where their contact is on such a Liliputian scale as in Chicago, New York, Boston and Philadelphia? But still, let us have patience and let us educate—and leave the rest to Providence and time.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

*The Promise of American Life.* BY HERBERT CROLY. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. 468.)

The author regards a new nationalism as the promise of American life. In trying to tell what this is he has produced a singularly original and thoughtful work. Interesting in itself it is still more interesting as the mark of current tendencies of thought. The matter gives evidence that it owes little to knowledge of comparative politics but is the outcome of intelligent consideration of American politics. The quest for the promise of American life was apparently begun with traditional ideas, and the conclusions reached in favor of radical reform are the outcome of observation of the inadequacy of American institutions in their traditional form.

A series of chapters are devoted to an examination of the political ideas and methods of the early period of the republic. The author finds that there was very slight institutional expression of the democracy in the government, but there was a democratic situation because of fluid social and economic conditions. "The dominant note of the pioneer